

JOINT STATEMENT BY
TURKEY AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
ON THE OCCASION OF THE VISIT OF US SECRETARY OF STATE
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
UPON THE INVITATION OF
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF TURKEY
ALİ BABACAN

MARCH 7, 2009

Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Foreign Minister Ali Babacan today reaffirmed the strong bonds of alliance, solidarity and strategic partnership between the Republic of Turkey and the United States, as well as the commitment of both countries to the principles of peace, democracy, freedom, and prosperity enshrined in the Shared Vision and Structured Dialogue document agreed to in July 2006.

Turkey and the United States reiterated their determination to continue close cooperation and consultation on all issues of common concern. They pledge to contribute to peace and stability in the Middle East and in this context, to support a permanent settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including alleviating the humanitarian crisis in Gaza and resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the basis of a two-state solution; to enhance energy security and to expand the Southern corridor of natural gas and oil infrastructure to enable Caspian basin and Iraqi energy producers to reach European and world markets; to promote peace, stability, and prosperity in the south Caucasus, including through U.S. support for the efforts of Turkey and Armenia to normalize relations and joint support for the efforts of the Minsk Group to resolve the Nagorno Karabakh conflict; to continue to cooperate in the Balkans; to support strongly a comprehensive and mutually-acceptable settlement of the Cyprus question under the auspices of the UN and in this context ending the isolation of the Turkish Cypriots; and to enhance their cooperation in the fight against terrorism, particularly against their common enemies, the PKK and al-Qaeda. The United States will continue its intelligence support for Turkish operations against the PKK and is reviewing ways to be more supportive. As members of the G-20, Turkey and the United States pledge continued cooperation to deal with the global economic crisis and efforts to increase and diversify bilateral economic relations with particular emphasis on trade, investment, scientific and technological cooperation.

Secretary Clinton and Foreign Minister Babacan discussed Turkey's accession to the European Union as a member, a goal the United States continues to strongly support, as well as the Government of Turkey's continued emphasis on reform process. With their commitment to Transatlantic relations and as Allies in a strong NATO, they pledge continued cooperation in Afghanistan, including through continued Turkish contributions to Afghanistan. They reiterated their commitment to the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Iraq as well as reiterated their support for a democratic, pluralistic, unified and federal Iraq. They also welcome Turkey's deepening relations with the Government of Iraq as evidenced by high level visits as well as trilateral meetings to discuss cooperation against the PKK. Turkey and the United States will strongly back the United Nations Security Council in its work to maintain global peace and security for the prevention and removal of threats to the international community and in this context will cooperate in dealing with issues including terrorism, drug trafficking, organized crime and the threat of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and their means of delivery in the region and beyond.

Finally, they reaffirmed their determination to diversify the broad based bilateral relations particularly between the Turkish and American people. In that context, the Secretary and Minister announced the establishment of “Young Turkey/Young America: A New Relationship for a New Age.” This initiative will enable emerging young leaders in Turkey and the United States to develop initiatives that will positively impact people’s lives and invest in future ties between the leadership of our two countries.

NATO Can Do Better in Afghanistan
Now is no time to abandon the mission.
By ABDULLAH GÜL

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, MARCH 31, 2009

International efforts to stabilize Afghanistan and improve the lives of the Afghan people have fallen short of their targets. There is daily violence in the country and expectations continue to outpace achieved results. It is time for a policy shift. It is time for increased involvement.

We must first accept that so far the international community has not achieved results that match the significant sum of funds it has spent. We must also realize that Afghanistan and its surrounding region cannot be a secondary source of concern. We need to understand that this region is the new "powder keg" of the world and that the stakes are as high as they can be.

Therefore, it is encouraging to know that President Barack Obama understands these facts and has reviewed the United States' Afghanistan policy.

Not everything has gone awry. This year, Afghanistan will hold presidential elections. Next year, it will hold parliamentary elections, completing a transition to democracy. The Afghan people now have a right to universal suffrage.

However, more must be done. The Afghan National Army is composed of tough fighters, but it needs better equipment and training. I saw this first hand on a visit to the country. I saw two units. One was composed of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) troops; the other was composed of Afghans. What struck me was that the international soldiers had much better equipment.

One Afghan commander summed it up for me this way: "If anyone has to die for Afghanistan, it must not be the children of foreign nations. It must be our sons, and they are ready to do so. But they must be given a fair chance to be able to fight for their country. They must be properly armed and trained."

But more troops and more money alone will not be enough. The Afghan government needs military force to operate from a position of strength. But real improvement requires embracing every Afghan ready to work through peaceful means for the good of their country.

Political, diplomatic, economic, and social efforts must be increased and focused on consolidating national unity to bring about tangible improvement to people's lives. To have peace, we must win over the people.

There is a role here for the international community in enabling Afghan officials working to meet the basic needs of their people. Health care and education must both be top priorities. The country's civil service needs work. Its judiciary and police forces need to be

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strengthened. The people must come to believe that change is underway that will create a sense of normalcy for them.

We are doing our part. One thing I noticed in Kabul was unpaved roads. Where cars and trucks should have been able to drive unimpeded, people slogged through knee-deep mud. To fix this, Turkey is paving more than 60 miles of roads inside Kabul.

There is one more area of struggle, and it is the most difficult one. Extremist ideology in the region must be confronted. Education is the long-term remedy. The Afghans' desire for education is strong. What's needed is an international fund to support education in Afghanistan.

Turkey, which has cultural bonds with Afghanistan, could take the lead in creating such a fund. We have seen firsthand how much can be achieved with perseverance and hard work that does not alienate the people. Today, Turkey is involved in building and operating girls' schools where once girls could not walk on the streets.

Turkey, with its limited resources, is doing what it can to support Afghanistan. Since 2002, Turkey has assumed command of the ISAF twice. Turkey has also provided training, equipment and support to the Afghan National Army and the Afghan National Police. To support Afghanistan, Turkey has launched its most comprehensive long-term assistance program in its history. And our commitment to reconstruction in Afghanistan is ongoing.

The international community cannot abandon the Afghan people at their time of difficulty. Rather than being mired in subjective discussions of hopelessness, we should draw the necessary lessons from the past and focus on helping the Afghan people build necessary institutions and find their own solutions to the problems they face.

Mr. Gül is the president of the Republic of Turkey.

**JOIN THE CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS ON US-TURKISH RELATIONS
AND TURKISH AMERICANS**

America faces serious foreign policy challenges globally, from the struggle against Al Qaeda to ongoing efforts in Afghanistan, Iraq and the Middle East. It is critical that America focus on building new relationships and maintaining partnerships essential to America's core strategic interest. To this end, we hope you will join us in strengthening our bilateral relationship with our long-standing ally Turkey and become a member of the Congressional Caucus on US-Turkish Relations and Turkish Americans.

There is no doubt that Turkey, a steadfast NATO member for more than 50 years, is one of our most important allies in the Euro-Atlantic region. Turkey plays a key role in a number of issues important to the United States. The war on terrorism, combating the proliferation of WMDs, Iraq, Afghanistan, fighting organized crime and cross-border drug trafficking, the Balkans, Caucasus, Central Asia and the Greater Middle East are all common risks and challenges that both countries face together, based on their shared strategic goals and interests.

Today, Turkey is a key partner in furthering the American vision of a democratic and peaceful Middle East. As the only country with a predominantly Muslim population that is also a democracy and has a free market economy, Turkey is a role model for its neighbors and plays an important role in the Middle East peace process as well as in Lebanon.

The United States also shares growing commercial interests with Turkey that go beyond the political and security cooperation. As one of the 20 largest economies in the world, Turkey has long been considered by the United States as a major emerging market capable of receiving large amounts of US exports and of hosting American investment. The current US-Turkish trade relationship of about \$12 billion per year is steadily expanding and diversifying. US companies are increasingly involved in different sectors of the growing Turkish economy.

Poised to enter the European Union and enjoying close relations with numerous countries in surrounding regions, Turkey is an ideal regional economic and energy hub. Strong US-Turkish economic relations provide American investors access to huge markets in the region. The time is right to recognize the critical importance of the US-Turkish strategic partnership and join the Congressional Caucus focused on bilateral and regional issues. As you may be aware, the Caucus on US-Turkish Relations and Turkish Americans was established in March 2001 and now boasts 76 members.

The goal of the Caucus has been to foster US-Turkish relations by engaging Turkish officials directly including our counterparts in the Turkish Grand National Assembly on key issues important to both nations. More importantly, the Caucus has played an integral role in strengthening our bilateral relationship with one of our most important friends and

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allies. It is clear that there are many reasons to support a strong US-Turkish relationship and Turkey's success as strong democracy, not only within the Administration, but within the Congress as well. In this vein, it is incumbent on Congress to build broad based support for US-Turkish political, economic, and security relations in Washington and across the nation.

If you would like to join the Congressional Caucus on US-Turkish Relations and Turkish Americans or seek more information, please have a member of your staff contact Jonathan Katz or David Feinman in Congressman Robert Wexler's office at 5-3001, James Robertson in Congressman Ed Whitfield's office at 5-3115, or Rachel Carter in Congresswoman Kay Granger's office at 5-5071.

**JOINT STATEMENT OF THE MINISTRIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE
REPUBLIC OF ARMENIA, THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY AND THE SWISS
FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

23 April 2009

Turkey and Armenia, together with Switzerland as mediator, have been working intensively with a view to normalizing their bilateral relations and developing them in a spirit of good-neighbornliness, and mutual respect, and thus to promoting peace, security and stability in the whole region.

The two parties have achieved tangible progress and mutual understanding in this process and they have agreed on a comprehensive framework for the normalization of their bilateral relations in a mutually satisfactory manner. In this context, a road-map has been identified.

This agreed basis provides a positive prospect for the on-going process.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A REPLY TO JUDITH E. TUCKER'S A LOOK BACK: "THE NAIM-ANDONIAN DOCUMENTS" BY VAHAKN DADRIAN (*IJMES* 40 [MAY 2008]: 171–79)

TÜRKKAYA ATAÖV

doi:10.1017/S0020743808090454

"The truth is the whole!" wrote Hegel. The reprint of V. N. Dadrian's article on the so-called Andonian "documents" steers clear of many pertinent facts related to Armenian-Turkish relations and falls short of Hegel's maxim. Dadrian reduces the topic to a one-sided indoctrination, limiting his references to selected narratives and omitting all evidence that contradicts mainstream Armenian views. His article bypasses the initial Armenian massacre of Muslim Anatolians, the Armenian-led revolt in the Ottoman province of Van, and Armenian shedding of blood in about a dozen wars or armed clashes. He attacks the Turks presented with the posture of a prosecuting attorney in tones so biased that today's social scientists would define them as racist.

Dadrian once more presents the theory that the "savage" Turks designed and accomplished the near total extermination of unarmed, unprotected Armenian civilians and that the Andonian "documents" substantiate that argument. Every reasoning, interpretation, judgment, and hint in such a train of thought is objectionable.

Many scholarly works confirm that the Ottoman *millet* system recognized a kind of minority self-government among all Armenian, Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant (as well as Jewish and Muslim) citizens. It gave these semi-independent communities basic freedoms: choice of administrators, worship in their own churches, use of national language, and the right to work and to hold office. It was the Ottoman Turkish sultan who recognized the Armenians in 1461, at a time when Europe was up to its neck in long religious wars. In contrast, about 11 million Muslims (mainly Turks) of the Balkans, the Crimea, and Caucasia were killed or forced to migrate between 1821 and 1922.

Dadrian entirely bypasses the scholarly works of outstanding writers of the older generation (like Langer, Whitman, Beaman, and others, including his compatriots Nalbandian and K. S. Papazian), as well as contemporary ones (Shaw, McCarthy, Lewis, etc.), all of whom underlined Armenian agitation, their resort to terror, and their search for an opportunity to kill Turks during wartime. It is impossible to overlook the threads of continuity in Armenian political violence from the 19th century through World War I, as well as in the bloody Armenian attacks on Turkish targets during the 1970s and 1980s.

Even British sources state that between 1 and 1.5 million Armenians were living in Turkey in 1914 and that armed Armenian volunteers and battalions "slaughtered an estimated 120,000 non-Armenians while the Turkish Army was preoccupied with mobilization."¹ Armed Armenian rebels attacked the Muslim quarters in the Ottoman city of Van, proclaimed their provisional government there, joined forces with Turkey's enemies in all fronts, and controlled eastern Anatolia after 1917, engaging in mass killings once more. There exists ample evidence in the archives of many states that Armenians, who constituted only a minority even in the provinces that they called "Western Armenia," rose up in arms in several towns, attacked unguarded Muslim quarters, massacred Muslims, cut Ottoman-army communication lines, blocked strategic roads, and threatened the

security and logistics of the Turkish fighting forces. That the Armenians formed armies of "more than 200,000" fighting men in support of tsarist Russian, British, and French forces is in the war memoirs of their own commanders.²

Hence came the Ottoman orders to resettle most, not all, of the remaining Armenians away from war zones. Undeniable Armenian armed violence left the Ottomans with no alternative. Not a single Jew in Germany and no Japanese American had resorted to armed violence before the notorious Holocaust and the U.S. decision to intern that minority. Not a single Ottoman document orders or hints at the murder of a single Armenian. When the British arrested 144 leading Ottoman functionaries and took them to Malta to try them there, the so-called Andonian "documents," printed separately in 1920 in Boston, London, and Paris, were in the victors' hands. Yet because of their unreliability, all of the Turks under detention were set free in 1921 without trial or a charge. Years of research in the Ottoman archives and further consultation with the U.S. government failed to produce evidence that could be used against the Turks in a court of law.

However, there was bloodshed. As noted, third parties acknowledged Armenian mass murder of Muslims, the number of the victims running into six digits. Despite strict Ottoman-government orders to the contrary, there were also occasional civilian attacks on some Armenian groups as they moved southward. In 1915 and 1916, the Turkish courts passed severe penaltics, including capital punishment, for such acts.

Dadrian shares the mainstream Armenian view that Turks can only be "victimizers" and Armenians "victims." Psychoanalysis describes such disposition as "the egoism of victimization," which recognizes no room for the sufferings of the "other group." Its by-product can only be mythologizing the events in favor of one group. As a consequence, the number of Armenians killed is sometimes stated as twice as many as their total population.³

Dadrian also overlooks that the Armenians often fought in conjunction with the Russians, British, French, and Greeks against the Turks, Azeris, and Georgians. They killed and got killed in return. They even shed blood in class wars in their native Armenia. Some survivors became refugees in Syria, Lebanon, France, and the United States. None of these losses may be described as "genocide."

War conditions and epidemics have been the common enemy in armed conflicts throughout history. Turkish losses were especially high. Armenians lived and fought under similar circumstances. The disease losses in the other armies were also high. None of these losses may be categorized as "genocide."

Dadrian's article—which omits crucial facts, indulges in exaggerations, and is sprinkled with prejudicial remarks—reflects his personal attributions that he expects the reader to accept as the whole truth. The Turkish arguments, reflecting the sufferings of the "other group" and based on valid documentation, constitute the indivisible parts of that whole.

NOTES

¹Stephen Pope and Elizabeth-Anne Wheal, *Dictionary of the First World War* (Yorkshire, U.K.: Macmillan Reference Books, Military Classics, 2003), 34.

²American Committee Opposed to the Lausanne Treaty, *The Lausanne Treaty: Turkey and Armenia* (New York: n.p., 1926), 143.

³For the very exaggerated figures regarding Armenian losses, there are many sources. See, for instance, Véronique Brocard, "Attentat d'Orly. . ." *Libération* (Paris), 19 February 1985. She wrote that "2.5 million were killed." In a meeting inside the United Nations headquarters in New York, where Dadrian spoke and I interjected, one of the Armenians flagrantly quoted "3.5 million."

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TURKISH CONTRIBUTIONS TO SECURITY AND DEVELOPMENT IN AFGHANISTAN

Historical ties with Afghanistan and the importance attached to international community's eventual success are the primary drivers of Turkish contributions. In support of the inextricable link between security and development, Turkey has launched, in coordination with the Government of Afghanistan, its most comprehensive sustainable development assistance program ever. In the security realm, Turkey assumed the command of ISAF operation twice and the command of the Regional Comm and Capital (RCC) between April-December 2007. Turkey reinforced the ISAF HQ with 156 additional personnel as of August 2008. In support of development and reconstruction, projects carried out or sponsored by Turkish agencies are not only limited to Kabul province, but extend from Faryab in the North to Kunar and Paktia in the East and Kandahar in the South. Through its PRT in Vardak, Turkey has further extended the scope of its contributions to reconstruction and development. Moreover, in support of a regional approach and to facilitate a mutually reinforcing cooperation between Afghanistan and Pakistan, Turkey has hosted a Triilateral Summit with the participation of the Presidents of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan on April 29-30, 2007, which culminated in Ankara Declaration. The Joint Working Group established at the Ankara Summit to work on various cooperation projects held its first meeting on 6 July 2007, in Ankara. Several projects agreed upon in this regard have been carried out in 2007 and 2008. The Second Triilateral Summit is held in Istanbul on December 5, 2008.

- Security**
 - Continuous troop contribution since the beginning of ISAF. There are currently 839 military – civilian Turkish personnel operating under ISAF.
 - Support to H.E. Minister Hikmet Cetin as NATO Senior Civilian Representative (SCR) in Afghanistan (Jan 2004-Aug 2006)
 - Continuous voluntary national contribution (VNC) to one of the POLAD posts at the SCR's Office between Jan 2004-Aug 2008.
 - Lead of ISAF-II between Jun 2002-Feb 2003 with 1300 troops.
 - Lead of ISAF-VII between Feb-Aug 2005 with 1430 troops, three utility helicopters (May 2004-Aug 2005) and concurrent leadership of Kabul International Airport.
 - Participation in SEEBRIG HQ which assumed command of Kabul Multi-National Battalion between Feb-Aug 2006.
 - Establishment of the RCC with France and Italy and command of the RCC between Apr-Dec 2007.
 - Deployment of 1200 troops and two utility helicopters during the Turkish Command of the RCC between April-December 2007.
 - Staff support consisting of 161 officers to ISAF composite HQ in 2008.
 - Supplying military aid and donations worth of 100 million since 2001.
- Deployment of an Operational Mentor and Liaison Team (OMLT) in the 201st Corps in Kabul.
- Reinforcement of ISAF HQ by NRDC-TU from August 2008 onwards with 156 personnel.
- Turkey will continue to make contributions to Kabul Regional Command with our existing force structure in our current area of responsibility.
- Development**
 - 100 million USD has been pledged at London Donors' Conference in Jan 2006.
 - Additional 100 million USD has been pledged at the Paris Conference on Afghanistan in June 2008.
 - 5 million USD of the above-mentioned pledge has been earmarked to support the upcoming elections in Afghanistan.
- Since 2002¹**
 - Health: 4 hospitals, 7 health clinics, 2 mobile clinics have been built/repaired (One million Afghans have benefited from these facilities). Currently 1 hospital and 5 clinics are operated by
 - Education: 41 elementary and secondary schools have been built/repaired and furnished (So far, 56,000 students have benefited from these facilities). For 2008, a program for construction and subsequent furnishing of 12 new schools continues.
 - Construction of a sports complex for the Kabul University is recently concluded.
 - 300 higher education scholarships have been provided to Afghan students. Under a separate program 228 scholarships have been granted since 2005. Moreover, since 2003, 152

¹ Excluding assistance extended through Vardak PRT

scholarships (36 on vocational school level) have been granted for studies in Theology Faculties.

- Vocational training courses for females are organized.

Construction and Investment: A bridge on Kabul River is constructed. A total distance of roads corresponding to 100 kms are planned to be paved and asphalted in Kabul. Three mosques have been repaired and 70 potable water wells have been opened in rural areas. In 2008, 70 new potable water wells are being dug, which are estimated to be benefited by around 229 thousand Afghan citizens.

- Turkish entrepreneurs have undertaken 1.59 billion USD worth of projects since 2002. Investments of 21 Turkish firms amount to 200 million USD.
- Total worth of projects that are planned for and implemented in 2008 within the framework of development aid to Afghanistan is estimated to be around 77 million USD.

Humanitarian Assistance: Only in 2008, 175 tons of emergency food assistance has been provided to over 5000 families.

Civil and Military Capacity Building:

- 10 officers and 3 NCOs contribute to the Afghan Military Academy as advisors and teachers. Additionally, 6 Turkish officers were appointed to the Afghan Military High School as advisors in February 2008.
- Total of 12 million USD is being spent for the construction, furnishing and material support of the Afghan Military High School in Kabul.
- In 2005, 1,032,000 USD has been allocated for training and equipping of an Afghan infantry battalion.
- 24 units of 155 mm artillery guns and 2200 artillery ammunitions as well as their spare parts have been donated and a 14-week

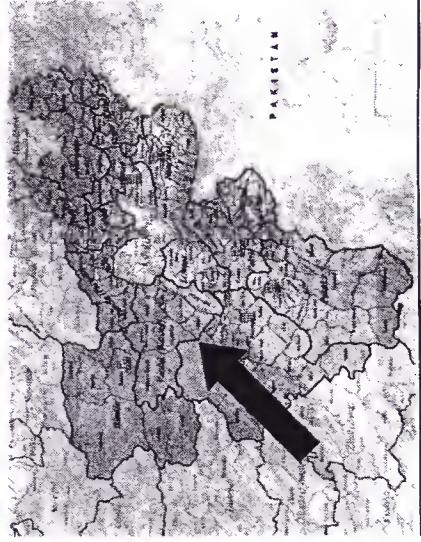
program aimed at training of 110 Afghan artillery personnel in Turkey has been completed.

- Donation of a "Cobra" type armored combat vehicle.
- 376,000 USD worth of support to the Afghan Military Sewing Facility.

- 404 Afghan officers and military students have completed their training at Turkish military schools.
- In-place training of 3885 Afghan military personnel.
- Thus far, approximately 50 million USD worth of military equipment 7 million USD worth of military training/education and 184,000 USD worth of health assistance have been provided to the ANA.
- Afghan civil servants are offered training opportunities in Turkey. So far, more than 500 Afghan officials have attended such programs.
- Afghan political parties attend training programs in Turkey.

- More than 150 Afghan police officers have received counter-narcotics training in Turkey. Moreover, 150 Afghan police officers received training in various other fields in Turkey.
- Afghan officers are regularly invited to the courses in the Turkish military training centers. Turkish Police Academy annually accepts 5 Afghan police cadets starting from 2007.
- Reform of the Afghan military justice system is supported through various courses and other cooperation programs.

Vardak PRT



- So far the PRT has engendered around 20 million USD worth of completed and on-going development projects.
- The construction and furnishing of an agricultural vocational high school and a dormitory in Maydan Shahr (16 classrooms for 280 students, supervised by Turkish teachers) (Completed).
- The construction of a 400 m³ water storage facility in Maydan Shahr (Completed).
- The construction and equipping of two cold storage facilities for agricultural products in Maydan Shahr and Saydabad districts (Completed).
- The restoration of the mosque in Maydan Shahr and construction of its social complex (Completed).
- The first phase of the project on providing street lighting to Maydan Shahr has been completed.
- A sports complex and a playground in Maydan Shahr (Completed).
- The construction and furnishing of a veterinary clinic in the Maydan Shahr district (Completed).

- The construction and furnishing of three elementary schools, one middle school, one high school and two girls' high schools in seven districts have been completed, seven more, including two high schools continue in six districts (each with 8 or 12 classrooms for approximately 1,000 students).
- In addition to the already completed women's health clinic in Saydabad district, 4 other clinics are under construction and one is in furnishing stage.
- Construction of two dried-fruits processing facilities.
- Modular project comprising a carpet weaving course and distribution of looms to families. Three portable water wells have been completed and 10 are continuing.
- Literacy courses for Afghan females since Feb.07. 2,000 persons have been reached out so far.
- A Computer and Training Center opened to provide basic computer training to the provincial officials in Vardak.
- Aid campaigns: 25,000 families and 8,000 children received around 150 tons of food, clothing and school material.
- The span of ongoing projects includes furnishing of an already constructed Women's Center and Maydan Shahr Radio station.
- Additional projects in the fields of security, agriculture, health and infrastructure are under way.
- So far, 411 applicants/students have been admitted to police training courses and 267 Afghan police officers have graduated.
- A model "Police Station and Detention Center" has been built.

PRT's Police Training Efforts

- A permanently deployed team of police trainers (10 personnel) working with the PRT since November 2006.
- Police Training and Education Center operational since Jan 08.
- Police training courses organized for the ANP since Dec 2006, in coordination with CSTC-A (Since Jan 2008 courses are held in the police training center constructed by the PRT).

Shared Vision and Structured Dialogue to Advance the Turkish-American Strategic Partnership

July 5, 2006

I. SHARED VISION

The relationship between Turkey and the United States is characterized by strong bonds of friendship, alliance, mutual trust and unity of vision. We share the same set of values and ideals in our regional and global objectives: the promotion of peace, democracy, freedom and prosperity. Thus, Turkey and the United States face common challenges and opportunities that demand our concerted efforts. These challenges and opportunities form the specific items of our common agenda for consultation and cooperation.

We agree to translate our shared vision into common efforts through effective cooperation and structured dialogue.

Turkey and the United States pledge themselves to work together on all issues of common concern, including promoting peace and stability in the broader Middle East through democracy; supporting international efforts towards a permanent settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including international efforts to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict on the basis of a two-state solution; fostering stability, democracy and prosperity in a unified Iraq; supporting diplomatic efforts on Iran's nuclear program, including the recent P5+1 initiative; contributing to stability, democracy and prosperity in the Black Sea region, the Caucasus, Central Asia and Afghanistan; supporting the achievement of a just and lasting, comprehensive and mutually-acceptable settlement of the Cyprus question under the auspices of the UN and in this context ending the isolation of the Turkish Cypriots; enhancing energy security through diversification of routes and sources, including from the Caspian basin; strengthening transatlantic relations and the transformation of NATO; countering terrorism, including the fight against the PKK and its affiliates; preventing WMD proliferation; combating illegal trafficking of persons, drugs and weapons; increasing understanding, respect and tolerance between and among religions and cultures; and promoting together effective multilateral action to find solutions to international challenges and crises of common concern.

The United States strongly supports Turkey's accession to the European Union and the accession process now underway.

Our consultation and cooperation will also include enhanced bilateral relations with particular emphasis on economic and commercial relations and investments; defense/military cooperation; science and technology; and public diplomacy efforts and exchanges.

II. STRUCTURED DIALOGUE

Turkey and the United States make use of several consultation channels at various levels. It is now time to develop a more structured framework to make our strategic partnership more effective and results-oriented.

In addition to the established High-Level Defense Group (HLDG), Economic Cooperation Partnership Council (ECPC) and Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) consultation mechanisms, we envisage four mutually-reinforcing tracks:

- a) Expert-Level Consultations:** They will be held as frequently as appropriate on issues of common concern.
- b) Policy Planning Consultations:** Regular meetings will be held between the Policy Planning Units to analyze tendencies, trends and developments from a strategic perspective, and to offer recommendations, as appropriate, in terms of policies to be pursued and means to be employed.
- c) Broad-Based Dialogue:** In our determination to enhance and diversify the scope of our relationship, we will actively promote bilateral exchanges among business groups, media, civil society, scientists and engineers, academicians and think-tanks, and educators and students. We will also facilitate opportunities for dialogue between the U.S. Congress and the Turkish Grand National Assembly.
- d) High-Level Review:** We will conduct a review at the level of Under Secretaries at least once a year to provide comprehensive and timely assessment and guidance.

Finally, the Secretary of State of the United States and the Foreign Minister of Turkey will remain in regular contact as required to develop this shared vision and structured dialogue.

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

March 30, 2009

His Excellency Serzh A. Sargsyan
President of the Republic of Armenia
26 Baghramian Avenue, Yerevan, Armenia

His Excellency Abdullah Gül
President of the Republic of Turkey
Cumhurbaşkanlığı Köşkü
Çankaya, Ankara, Turkey

Dear President Sargsyan and President Gül:

As members of the United States Congress who care deeply about Armenia and Turkey and seek peace, security and prosperity in the Caucasus region, we are writing to you to express our support for ongoing efforts to normalize and ultimately establish diplomatic, political and economic relations between your two nations. We appreciate these efforts, which are unprecedented in scope and nature and deserve the highest level of support in the United States and the international community.

We were encouraged last April when Armenian and Turkish leaders endorsed “establishing peace, tolerance and stability in the region.” We believe this olive branch, in addition to other governmental, civil society and non-governmental meetings, including the decision to extend mutual invitations to attend a World Cup qualifier match in Yerevan in September 2008 and to a reciprocal match in Turkey this year, have laid the foundation for an historic opening in bilateral relations. Given that differences – although not insurmountable – still exist between your two countries, it is critical that members of the United States Congress endorse Armenian-Turkish rapprochement, which we hope will lead to the removal of barriers that separate your two countries and people.

The success of Armenian-Turkish rapprochement is also critical to addressing other pressing regional issues, including the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict, which we hope will come to fruition in the near future. A Caucasus region where there is lasting security, stability and freedom will further benefit your countries, the region, and the national security interests of the United States.

It is essential that the building blocks of trust and cooperation are established between Armenia and Turkey to heal open wounds, mend broken hearts and create a better future for both nations and peoples. As members of Congress who agree that lasting Armenian-Turkish rapprochement

should be a top priority for the United States, please know we are ready to assist your nations' efforts to normalize relations and build a better future for generations of Armenians and Turks. This process is difficult and at times painful, but we remain hopeful that ongoing bilateral engagement will lead to a positive breakthrough that forever changes the dynamics of the region and opens the door to new possibilities and brighter futures for Armenia and Turkey.

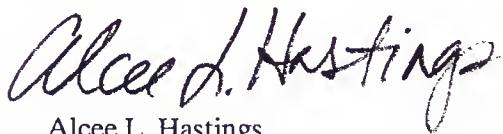
Sincerely,



Robert Wexler
Member of Congress



Ike Skelton
Member of Congress



Alcee L. Hastings
Member of Congress



John P. Murtha
Member of Congress

Cc: Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of State

Tigran Sargsyan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Armenia

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey

Marie L. Yovanovitch, United States Ambassador to Armenia

James F. Jeffrey, United States Ambassador to the Republic of Turkey

Tatoul Markarian, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Armenia to the United States

Nabi Şensoy, Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to the United States

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NOTE ON TURKEY-U.S. RELATIONS

Turkey and the U.S. are close friends, partners and allies for many decades. Based on shared values and perspectives, the Turkish-American relationship has attained a "strategic partnership" level in the aftermath of the Cold War. In addressing critical issues like terrorism, energy security, expanding democracy and free market economy, scope of this critical cooperation span across the Atlantic, Eurasia and beyond.

COUNTRIES/REGIONS:

Iraq

Turkey's interests in Iraq are in tune with those of the U.S. based on a shared vision and effort for the future of Iraq, maintaining its territorial integrity, while ensuring stability and supporting democracy in this country.

Afghanistan

With an aim to defeating extremism and terrorism, and ensuring Afghanistan stand on its own, Turkey from the outset has undertaken a significant role as part of the international effort towards Afghanistan. Providing integrated development aid concurrent with considerable security assistance are components of this posture. Turkey is determined to continue on this track with the U.S. and the international community.

Pakistan

Turkey views Pakistan critical to stability and security in Afghanistan and South Asia. Turkey's efforts are, therefore, geared towards helping to restrain extremism taking hold in this country, and assisting to develop an improved climate for dialogue and cooperation between Pakistan and Afghanistan, individually through the "Ankara Process", and together with the U.S. through the "Friends of Pakistan Initiative".

Iran

Turkey opposes acquisition of nuclear capability/weapons by Iran. In helping the efforts to resolve the problem through diplomacy, Turkey has undertaken certain individual initiatives and is prepared to play a constructive role as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council. Turkey's neighboring posture to Iran contributes to this picture.

Middle East

Turkey's history, predominantly Muslim population, democratic and secular system, and close ties with her neighbors provide positive tools in the Middle East. This, in turn, places Turkey on a platform for offering mediation, political cooperation schemes and joint infrastructure projects. Turkey's recent contribution in the Israeli-Syrian talks, its efforts in Lebanon and contributions through the OIC are worth mentioning in this regard.

The Balkans, the Caucasus and Central Asia

Turkey supports a Euro-Atlantic perspective for the Balkan, Caucasian and Central Asian countries that would be helpful to consolidate peace and stability in these neighboring regions. Turkey's pursuit as facilitator in resolving regional problems are in tune with this policy.

Africa

In tandem with the U.S. posture, Turkey's growing role in Africa is geared towards helping to sustain peace, stability and economic development in the continent. Turkey is a member of the African Development Bank, a "Strategic Partner" of the African Union, and the "Turkey-African Union Summit" was recently held in Istanbul, Turkey.

ISSUES:

NATO

Turkey views NATO as a corner stone for maintaining the transatlantic relations and for strengthening international security. Turkey supports the development of NATO-EU relations on the basis of a mutually agreed framework for cooperation.

Terrorism

Turkey is a steadfast ally in the war against international terrorism. She fights against terrorism within and just outside her borders. The action to prevent the PKK terrorist attacks originating from the north of Iraq are part of this endeavor. Maintaining close military and intelligence cooperation with the US on this issue is a critical priority for Turkey.

European Union

Turkey's EU membership is a strategic objective of the Turkish Foreign Policy. The accession process also provides valuable assets to its standing as a robust member of the transatlantic community. Sustained U.S. support in this regard is valuable, and is greatly appreciated.

Cyprus

Turkey supports a comprehensive and lasting settlement to the Cyprus problem on the basis of the established UN parameters of bi-zonality, political equality, equal status of the two Constituent States and a solution which will bring about a new partnership state. Turkey expects the U.S. and the international community to encourage the Greek Cypriot side to reach a just agreement. Turkey also expects the international community to take actions to lift the isolations imposed on the Turkish Cypriot people as promised.

Non-proliferation

Turkey is party to all international non-proliferation instruments and export control regimes, and she works towards their expansion and effective implementation.

Energy security

Turkey will be a staunch partner in completing the remaining projects of the East-West Energy Corridor through the trans-Caspian route, as well as the Iraqi energy development.

Turkey's UNSC Membership

Turkey works in close cooperation with the U.S. during her non-permanent membership to the UN Security Council for the term 2009-2011.

TURKEY: A STRATEGIC PARTNER OF THE UNITED STATES

Turkey and the United States are close friends, allies and strategic partners.

Turkey is;

- the 17th largest economy in the world, 6th in Europe, and a member of G-20,
- a member of the United Nations Security Council in 2009-2010,
- a country in accession process to the European Union since 2005,
- a promoter of positive change along the lines of contemporary common values and greater political and economic participation in its region and beyond,
- a moderate force exemplifying that a clash of civilizations is not inevitable,
- a country pursuing active diplomacy to establish a benevolent environment in its neighborhood, thus a facilitator of improved relations among regional players,
- an important contributor to the war on terror,
- an active supporter of the international community's collective effort in Iraq and Afghanistan, pursuing a hands-on effort to set reforms that will ensure political stability and economic prosperity in these countries,
- a benign regional power working with the international community towards ensuring the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction,
- a reliable ally dedicated to maintaining NATO as the cornerstone for transatlantic relations,
- a champion of greater energy security through diversification of energy resources and supply lines,
- a contributor to peace, security and stability by providing military and police forces and specialists to international missions in areas of conflict,
- a provider of development aid through Turkish International Development Agency (TIKA).

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

April 1, 2009

The Honorable Barack Obama
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Obama:

As Members of the Congressional Caucus on U.S.-Turkish Relations and as strong supporters of our important bilateral relationship, we are writing to you to express our unequivocal support for your upcoming trip to Turkey, which we believe is an historic opportunity to enhance one of our nation's most important strategic partnerships. It is also a chance to renew the ties that for over sixty years have bound America and Turkey together in friendship, mutual respect and common purpose.

President Obama, during your speech to a joint meeting of Congress in February you stated, "We are showing the world that a new era of engagement has begun. For we know that America cannot meet the threats of this century alone, but the world cannot meet them without America." To that end, your trip to Turkey comes at a critical juncture as the United States, and the international community, face a deepening global financial crisis and are grappling with serious security challenges in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, the Balkans, the Black Sea Region, and the Middle East.

We believe Turkey—the world's 17th largest economy, a stalwart geo-strategic NATO ally, a member of the G20, and a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council—is perfectly suited to "meet the threats of this century," including the threat of nuclear proliferation, countering terrorism, energy security, and playing a partnering role with the U.S. and our allies in bringing greater stability, democracy and security to several areas of national security that are concerns to America, the transatlantic alliance and international community.

We are hopeful that your discussions with President Gul, Prime Minister Erdogan and his government will focus on increasing U.S.-Turkish cooperation and coordination in both Afghanistan and Iraq. Since 2002, Turkey has played a leading role in providing humanitarian, economic, military, and security assistance in Afghanistan and has led the International Security Assistance Forces in Kabul on two occasions. In April, Turkey will host for the third time a trilateral Summit with the participation of the Presidents of Afghanistan and Pakistan. It is our hope that as your Administration unveils its strategic review of Afghanistan, NATO allies including the Turkish government, which has signaled its support for a new Afghan strategy, will be prepared to commit additional resources specifically expanding and improving the Afghan security forces and the national police force.

As you know, Turkey has also played a positive and cooperative role in efforts to secure and stabilize Iraq through its strong role in the Trilateral Iraq-Turkey-U.S. Commission. Turkey's airbase at Incirlik and Harbur Gate, along its border with Northern Iraq, have been critical to American military operations and logistics in Iraq. During Secretary Clinton's meeting with Foreign Minister Babacan, she thanked the Turkish government for its "key role in helping build the Iraqi economy, particularly in Northern Iraq . . . and have been very helpful in working with the people of Iraq as they struggle to form their own democracy."

As your Administration finalizes its withdrawal plans for Iraq, it is important to reiterate, as was done in the Joint U.S.-Turkey Statement on March 7, American and Turkish "commitment to the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Iraq as well as . . . support for a democratic, pluralistic, unified and federal Iraq." We believe Turkey will continue to be a leading partner in Iraq's future political, economic and security success and can—if agreed to by all parties—play a central role in your plans to withdraw American troops safely, effectively and securely from Iraq.

During your visit, we urge you to use this opportunity to reiterate—as Secretary of State Clinton did in Ankara—your support for Turkey's membership in the European Union (EU). The United States must remain an iron clad supporter of Turkish membership in the EU. To that end, we believe that your Administration should continue to encourage and provide assistance to Prime Minister Erdogan's government to make certain that the necessary political, economic and judicial reforms are implemented as part of the criteria for membership in the European Union. We believe Turkey's success as a secular democracy that fully respects the rule of law and guarantees freedoms, civil, religious and human rights are in the interest of the Turkish people, the European Union and the United States.

There are few issues that weigh more heavily on the minds of the Turkish people than the unconscionable death and destruction caused over the past several decades by PKK terrorists. We believe that the US must stand with our Turkish allies as they combat the PKK domestically and in Northern Iraq and we urge you and your Administration to maintain America's commitment to assist Ankara in their counterterrorism efforts. As we ask Turkey, which has been victimized by the PKK, Al Qaeda, and other terrorist groups to work closely with the United States in countering extremism, it is imperative that we provide "actionable intelligence" and all available assistance to Ankara to permanently dismantle the PKK's terrorist infrastructure.

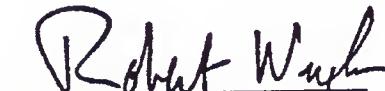
Mr. President, in addition to these issues, we are hopeful that your Administration lends its unequivocal support to Turkey and its rapprochement efforts with its neighbor Armenia. As members of Congress who care about the future of Turkey and Armenia and seek peace, security and prosperity in the Caucasus region, it is critical for us to encourage the normalization and ultimately the establishment of diplomatic, political and economic relations between these two nations. Turkey and Armenia should be applauded and encouraged to continue a process that is unprecedented in scope and nature. We believe during this process,

they deserve the highest level of support in the United States and the international community.

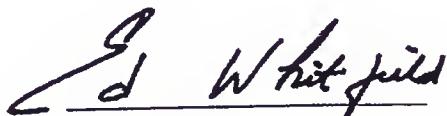
Your visit to Turkey opens the door to new possibilities and an opportunity to transform U.S.-Turkish relations and strengthen connections between Americans and Turks. As you prepare for your trip, we want to express our support for establishing stronger people to people links at the educational, cultural and social levels between our nations. We were pleased that Secretary Clinton announced the establishment of the Young Turkey-Young America initiative and we stand ready to assist the State Department as it implements this program.

Mr. President, we greatly appreciate your willingness to take into account our thoughts and suggestions as you prepare for your trip to Turkey. We know you will be warmly received by the Turkish government and people who cherish, as we do, the opportunity to create a new chapter in US-Turkish relations based on shared values and a common agenda befitting democratic allies and long-standing friends. Please know the Congressional Caucus on U.S.-Turkish Relations is prepared to work with you and your Administration to achieve this important goal.

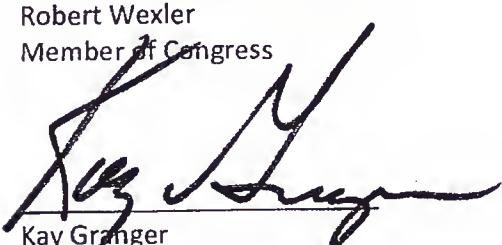
Sincerely,



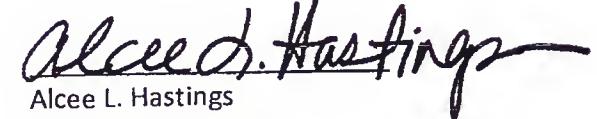
Robert Wexler
Member of Congress



Ed Whitfield
Member of Congress



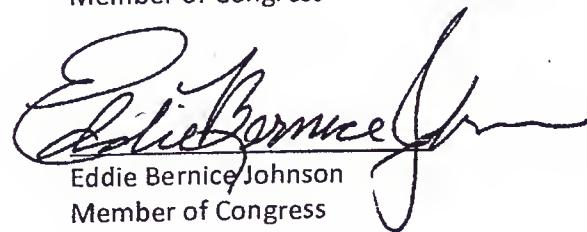
Kay Granger
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Alcee L. Hastings
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Michael E. McMahon

Michael E. McMahon
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Bill Pascrell, Jr.
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J. Graham Barrett

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Carolyn C. Kilpatrick

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2009-01-21 09:44:00
GPO : 2009 : 100000
U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE : 2009 : O-120-100000

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April 1, 2009

TURKEY, PAKISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN
JOINT STATEMENT
ADOPTED AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE
THIRD TRILATERAL SUMMIT HELD IN ANKARA

Within the framework of the trilateral Ankara Process, initiated on 30 April 2007, and with a view to continuing and enhancing the trilateral cooperation and solidarity among the three brotherly countries, His Excellency Hamid Karzai, the President of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, and His Excellency Asif Ali Zardari, the President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, visited Ankara on 01 April 2009 on the invitation of His Excellency Abdullah Gü'l, the President of the Republic of Turkey.

The three Presidents, together with His Excellency Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, held cordial and fruitful talks. They, with reference to the Ankara Declaration of 30 April 2007, the Joint Press Release of the Joint Working Group of 6 July 2007, the Joint Declaration of 30 October 2008, and the Joint Statement of 5 December 2008, manifested the need for closer coordination and consultation among the three brotherly countries, at a time when significant developments have been taking place and initiatives are being launched that can have an impact on the efforts to promote security, stability, peace, and economic development in the region.

During the discussions, the three Presidents, who were also accompanied by the Chiefs of General Staff and Army Staff as well as highest intelligence officials of their countries, covered trilateral, regional and international issues of common interest, particularly from a security and stability perspective, including with a view to addressing terrorism. The three Ministers of Foreign Affairs also held a separate meeting.

Mindful of the importance of coordination and cooperation in security matters between political, military and intelligence authorities at the regional level, the three countries have decided to continue trilateral contacts between their above mentioned authorities at different levels in functional and plenary formats as a structured process.

In this vein, apart from the annual Trilateral Summit meetings, the three Ministers of Foreign Affairs will meet once a year with the participation of the military and intelligence officials of the three countries, the Joint Working Group will meet twice a year to follow-up the implementation of Summit level decisions and will also prepare the Summit and Ministerial meetings.

The three Presidents decided to expand and strengthen the trilateral cooperation among Afghanistan, Pakistan and Turkey, committing all their relevant institutions.

Presidents of Afghanistan and Pakistan, requested the Turkish President to organize in Turkey a regional summit that would underline their political will to enhance cooperation on regional issues.

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